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SIR WALTER SCOTT AND ALFRED DE VIGNY.

In *La Jeunesse des Romantiques*—Victor Hugo, Alfred de Vigny,¹ which has just appeared, M. Ernest Dupuis studies, p. 290, "Les Origines littéraires d'Alfred de Vigny," but only as a poet. This study had already appeared in the form of an article in the July-September number for 1903 of *La Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France*. Perhaps he thought that nothing more could be said of "Les Origines littéraires d'Alfred de Vigny" as a prose-writer after the apparently exhaustive book of M. Louis Maigron, *Le Roman historique à l'Époque romantique—Essai sur l'influence de Walter Scott*.² Yet there is always something to be gleaned after the most careful reaper. Every critic agrees that *Cinq-Mars*, the first prose work of de Vigny, is a clever imitation of Sir Walter Scott's methods, but except for the proofs of a general order offered by M. Maigron—dialogue, picturesqueness, local color, manners, costumes, etc.,—nobody, so far as I know, has shown how closely and how frequently Alfred de Vigny in *Cinq-Mars* has imitated Scott in the details. This article being, as it were, a stake in a prospective field, I shall mention, without lengthy discussions, the similarities in the *dramatis personæ*, the analogies in the situations and incidents, and the imitations of passages that I have noticed so far.

Almost every character in *Cinq-Mars* has his counterpart, if not his prototype, in *Quentin Durward*: cf. Quentin and Cinq-Mars, Crawford and Bassompierre, Dunois and de Thou, Tristan l'Hermite and Laubardemont, Oliver and Father Joseph, The Bohemian and The Spaniard, the Duke of Orleans and Gaston, Isabelle de Croye and Marie de Gonzaga, Hameline de Croye and Anna of Austria. Besides, the Duke of Bouillon is, ac-

cording to history, related to William de la Marck, and Louis XIII to Louis XI.

Let us first remember that *Quentin Durward* appeared about June 20, 1823,³ and was translated at once into French⁴; and that de Vigny himself states⁵: "en 1824, à Oloron, dans les Pyrénées, je composai entièrement et écrivis sur une feuille de papier le plan entier de *Cinq-Mars*. Il n'y a pas de livre que j'aie plus longtemps et plus sérieusement médité . . . Ce ne fut qu'en 1826 que je me mis à écrire le livre d'un bout à l'autre, et, comme on dit, d'une seule encre."

The first five cases of similarity in the characters of the young heroes, Quentin and Cinq-Mars, are historical as far as the latter is concerned and are given because, in my opinion, they were somewhat responsible—with other resemblances, of course, mentioned further on—for suggesting to de Vigny the idea of building a historical novel around the tragical fate of Cinq-Mars:

- 1) Both young heroes belong to noble families.
- 2) They become great favorites with their royal protectors.
- 3) Each is or falls in love and sees his affection requited. (Yet most of the details about Cinq-Mars' love are fictitious.)
- 4) Each becomes ambitious because of his love.
- 5) Each one falls or comes near falling a victim to the politics of his royal benefactor.

The following points of resemblance are not entirely true to history or are fictitious as far as Cinq-Mars is concerned. They prove that de Vigny was greatly influenced by the reading of *Quentin Durward* in the moulding of his own hero:

- 1) Both books are named after the youths.
- 2) The young men are of the same age at the beginning of both stories.
- 3) They win royal favor by the display of their bravery, Quentin by crossing a ford that the king

¹ Paris, Société Française d'Imprimerie et de Librairie, 1905.

² Paris, Hachette, 1898.

³ See Lockhart, *Life of Walter Scott*, vol. v.

⁴ See Maigron, p. 110.

⁵ *Journal d'un Poète*, p. 240.

thought was impassable, and later by saving Louis' life in a boar-hunt; Cinq-Mars by suggesting and helping in the storming of a bastion of the besieged city of Perpignan. (The truth is that Cinq-Mars became a page in the household of Richelieu when he was only fifteen, and later attracted Louis XIII's attention by singing an air composed by the royal musician.⁶)

4) Each enters the Royal Guard (Quentin the Archers of the Scottish Guard, Cinq-Mars the Men-at-arms of the King's Guard) by special privilege and at the request of the members of these regiments whose exclusiveness was almost proverbial.

5) Both show hesitation in accepting this great honor.

6) Yet they accept it.

7) They leave, the one his country, the other his home, to seek their fortunes in the world, and in doing so, they both follow the advice of clerical friends.

8) Both have a prophetic dream. It has almost the same trend and turns into a nightmare which is interrupted by an unexpected visit. In each case the visitor speaks to them of their future and mentions their beloved.

9) Each gains the gratitude of a foreigner or pseudo-foreigner almost in the same way and is later rewarded for his charitable deed.

10) Both start their careers by making a powerful and mortal enemy through an act of violence.

11) They show on a certain night-trip the same symptoms of lovesickness and extreme fatigue.

12) Both follow similar tactics when surrounded by a crowd in a strange city.

13) Quentin participates in a two-cornered duel and Cinq-Mars in a three-cornered one. The combats are conducted along the same lines. The youths come out victorious and unharmed, but they are wounded shortly after, Quentin in a second duel, Cinq-Mars in the taking of a bastion.

14) They boldly take a leading part in the attempt to save the lives of two members of the Church, but both utterly fail.

15) They have a few similar qualities.

Of course, there are also points of unlikeness.

For instance, we may notice that, in general, things are not always carried to extremes in *Quentin Durward* because it is fictitious, while de Vigny was bound by historical facts to go farther in the carrying out of plots, vengeance, etc. The greatest difference in characters lies in the light-heartedness, the good humor, the sunny and genial disposition of Quentin and the gloominess, the sorrowful and grave mien, the melancholy nature of Cinq-Mars. De Vigny's hero, from the very beginning, is doomed and bears on his forehead the seal of Fatality (a fact, by the way, which is far from being historical, for historians describe him to us as having been "a gay, lively youth, . . . a vain and frivolous page, . . . without solid intellectual or moral foundation, . . . fast degenerating into a conceited fop"). This deviation from history finds its explanation in the affected morbidness of the romanticists, "le mal du siècle," and the gloomy disposition of the author himself. "La sévérité froide et un peu sombre de mon caractère n'était pas native. Elle m'a été donnée par la vie."⁷

The following points of likeness in the characters will not be divided into historical and non-historical, because it is always difficult in de Vigny to point out where history ends and romance begins. He himself says⁸: "Ce qui fait l'originalité du livre, c'est que tout y a l'air roman et que tout y est histoire."

1) Isabelle de Croye and Marie de Gonzaga are foreigners.

2) They are errant-princesses and find a temporary home at the French court.

3) They are very young and nearly the same age when they meet their lovers for the first time. (The love of Cinq-Mars for Mary is historically true, but de Vigny makes her younger than she really was. It would have been too unromantic to show his hero in love with a girl eight years his senior.)

4) Both are of a higher rank than their lovers.

5) They decline to marry other suitors who are, as it were, forced upon them by their princely or royal guardians. Besides, both are loved by men of royal blood. In fact, both decline a throne.

⁶ See Sankey's edition of *Cinq-Mars*. Introduction, p. xxv. Boston, D. C. Heath & Co.

⁷ *Journal d'un Poète*, p. 59.

⁸ *Journal d'un Poète*, p. 34.

Resemblances in the lesser personages also abound.

1) Lord Crawford and Marshal de Bassompierre are both foreigners and have faithfully served under preceding kings.

2) One is the Captain of the Archers of the Scottish Guard; the other, the former Colonel-General of the Swiss. (Both regiments then being recruited among foreigners.)

3) They are representatives of the preceding generation: well-preserved, frank, fearless, loyal to their respective masters.

4) Both show a decided fondness for wine and the stories of former times.

5) Finally, they are very much interested in the welfare and ultimate success of the young heroes, namely, Quentin and Cinq-Mars.

Dunois and de Thou symbolize blind fidelity, self-sacrifice on the altar of Friendship.

The villains also show some similar characteristics.

1) For instance, Oliver le Dain and Father Joseph are at once the confidential agents, the servile instruments and the advisers of their masters.

2) They are very familiar with them and sometimes go so far as to chide them for their lack of spirit.

3) Both are now and then scolded by their masters. In fact, they are despised by them.

4) They are ambitious for higher honors, but fail in winning them.

5) They are sly and full of their importance. People are afraid of them and pay them outward signs of respect.

6) Each has a rival in the favor of his master and tries to lower him.

7) Both attempt, at the beginning, to prevent the advancement of the young heroes.

(Father Joseph, being a somewhat complex character, combines within himself the rôles of Oliver and Cardinal Balue. The latter and Joseph are both ready to betray their masters for the sake of their own advantage. Let us recall here that de Vigny prolonged the life of Father Joseph by four years; he really died in 1638 and, of course, had no hand in Cinq-Mars' downfall. De Vigny was only imitating the boldness of his model, Scott, who in *Quentin Durward* did not hesitate

to antedate the murder of the Bishop of Liege by fifteen years.)

Another pair of villains next call our attention.

1) Tristan l'Hermite, the Provost-Marshal of Louis XI, and de Laubardemont, the counsellor or reporter of State, are merely the factotums, the murderous satellites of Louis and Richelieu.

2) Both are anxious to supplant their rivals in the favor of their masters.

3) They are despised by them.

4) Each is awkward in appearance and has a hypocritical mien.

5) Both have been struck by the young heroes and are anxious to avenge the blow by bringing about their downfall.

A third pair of villains is presented to us in the persons of the Bohemian and the Spaniard.

1) The authors do them the honor of devoting to them one or two special chapters.

2) The first is a foreigner, the second a pseudo-foreigner.

3) They are vagrants, outcasts, and their main occupation is to act as spies and guides. They know thoroughly the country and the frontiers.

4) Both are savage looking; yet they have some education for that time.

5) They are now and then facetious and garrulous.

6) They are daring and reckless.

7) They are hardened criminals.

8) They are stoical before death. Both die a violent death.

9) They are entrusted with very important missions.

10) In spite of their villainy, they can be stirred by a fine feeling; we see both of them grateful to the young heroes for service rendered and anxious to repay them.

N. B.—The atheistic views of the Bohemian which we expected to hear expounded by his counterpart, Jacques, are curiously enough shared by Father Joseph, a Capuchin.

The similarities in the characters of Hameline de Croye and Anna of Austria are slight but still worthy of notice.

1) Both are sentimental and more or less in love with the young heroes; they see their affection unrequited.

2) They desire the young ladies under their care to marry royal suitors.

Anna of Austria combines the parts of Hameline of Croye and the Countess of Crèvecœur: the latter and the queen act as protectresses of the young ladies.

Let us end this long list of similarities by a last one, which is really the first to impose itself upon the reader's notice on opening *Cinq-Mars*: the old servant, Grandchamp, gruff, sententious, but touching through his faithfulness and loyalty, forcibly reminds us at once of old Caleb Balderstone in *The Bride of Lammermoor*.

De Vigny did not limit his imitation of his model to the delineation of his personages, but found it convenient to follow his footsteps in the very structure of the story, in the selection of certain situations and incidents, and even in the composition of a few passages. First, both books are divided into two parts, each part into chapters, with this difference however, that chapter-numbers run on in de Vigny's second part. Every chapter bears a definite title and is preceded by an epigraph. This innovation originated in the novel with Sir Walter Scott, who no doubt had been influenced in adopting it by the example of the English essayists. Let us add that each book has a preface, that of de Vigny being rather pompous, and ends with historical notes.

M. Maigron cites only one reminiscence (page 262), ". . . le repas du soir" au château de Chaumont: une scène visiblement imitée d'*Ivanhoe* (chap. 1)." The reminiscences I have quoted above: the dream, the duel, the night-journey, the tactics of the young men when surrounded by a strange crowd, etc., are more visibly imitated from Scott than the one cited by M. Maigron. The following ones are also very striking. The stories begin in the same region, in Touraine. The attitudes, the feelings and the prayers of Richelieu in his tent and of Louis XI in Earl Herbert's Tower, are very much alike. The description of the château of Pierre-Encise strangely coincides with that of the castle of Peronne. M.

⁹ It was the noon meal, contrary to M. Maigron's statement: "la cloche du château ayant sonné à *midi*, selon l'usage, le dîner de la famille qui l'habitait," . . . *Cinq-Mars* (chap. 1).

Maigron has failed to notice it, but makes the following suggestion (p. 264)—"Voyez la description du château de Pierre-Encise sur les bords de la Saône (*Les Prisonniers*) et quelques détails du *Procès* et du *Martyre* dont Hugo et Dumas semblent s'être souvenus dans *Notre-Dame de Paris* et *Isabelle de Bavière* . . ." Some textual passages also recall similar ones in Scott:

Quentin Durward (vol. I, chap. 2).

. . . the capital of ancient Touraine, whose rich plain has been termed the garden of France.

(II. 7., note.) Indeed . . . it (i. e., Peronne) was never taken by an enemy, but preserved the proud name of Peronne la Pucelle, . . .

(II. 8.) Peronne is a virgin fortress.

(I. 2.) His companion . . . said, "Hush, hush, Sir Varlet with the Velvet Pouch! for I forgot to tell you, that one great danger of these precincts is, that the very leaves of the trees are like so many ears, which carry all which is spoken to the king's own cabinet."

(II. 11.) "Know then, O King," said Martius, "that this only I can tell certainly concerning mine own death, that it shall take place exactly twenty-four hours before that of your Majesty."

The following parallel is the most striking one I have noticed:

(II. 14):

"And you obeyed your orders accordingly?" said the king.

"I did, Sire," replied the Scot.

"You omit a circumstance," said the Duke. "You were set upon in the forest by two wandering knights."

Cinq-Mars (chap. 1).

Connaissez-vous cette contrée que l'on a surnommée le jardin de la France?

(1). . . seule province que n'occupa jamais l'étranger, . . .

(21.) "Allons! allons! ne parlez pas si haut," répondit brusquement le vieux domestique; les murs ont des oreilles de cardinal, et surtout les églises . . .

(5.) (Grandier dit:) "Au nom du Dieu vivant, je t'ajourne à trois ans, Laubardemont, juge prévaricateur."

(10):

(Louis XI dit:) "Mais que vois-je! vous ici, monsieur de Thou? Qui êtes-vous venu juger?"

—Je crois, Sire, répondit Coislin, qu'il a plutôt condamné à mort quelques Espagnols, car il est entré le second dans la place.

—Je n'ai frappé per-

"It does not become me to remember or to proclaim such an incident," said the youth, *blushing* ingenuously.

"But it doth not become me to forget it," said the Duke of Orleans. "This youth discharged his commission manfully, and maintained his trust in a manner that I shall long remember.—Come to my apartment, Archer, when this matter is over, and thou shalt find I have not *forgot thy brave bearing*, while I am glad to see it is equalled by thy *modesty*."

Cinq-Mars calling on his old tutor, L'Abbé Quillet at Loudun, his knocking at the door, the appearance of the old man—with a description of his dress and attitude,—his warm reception, their "comparing of notes," the old abbé in hiding and preparing to flee to Italy, his talk about their common friends and their future prospects, all this is a visible reminiscence of the visit paid by Waverley to his old friend, The Baron of Bradwardine.¹⁰

Peveril of the Peak also inspired de Vigny several times. This passage may be a faint reminiscence :

Peveril of the Peak (39).

(Buckingham says of Alice Bridgenorth,—) "So how the girl is to be disposed of—for I shall have little fancy to keep her here, and she is too wealthy to be sent down to Cliefden as a housekeeper—is a matter to be thought on."

sonne, monsieur, interrompit de Thou *en rougissant* ; ce n'est point mon métier ; ici je n'ai aucun mérite, j'accompagnais M. de Cinq-Mars, mon ami.

— Nous aimons votre modestie autant que cette bravoure, et nous n'oublierons pas ce trait . . .

Cinq-Mars (13).

(Laubardemont says of his niece, Jeanne de Bel-fiel,—) "Quant à cette petite imbécile que voilà, je vais la donner à un ancien juge secret, à present contrebandier dans les Pyrénées, à Oloron ; il la fera ce qu'il voudra, servante dans sa *posada* par exemple . . ."

The way de Laubardemont acts towards his niece somewhat corresponds to that of Christian Bridgenorth towards his daughter, Fenella, and his niece, Alice. The whole chapter 7, "Le Cabinet," in *Cinq-Mars* seems to have had for its basis chapter 28, "Buckingham's Levee," in *Peveril of the Peak*. The signal that Cinq-Mars

(chap. 25) must give (but fails to give) to his friends if he wants them to save him from the hands of the executioner—to put on his hat—is nearly an exact reproduction of the one Julian Peveril (chap. 36) is asked to give (and fails to give) when in the same straits—"to put on his hat a white band or white feather or knot or ribbon of the same colour." Finally, a direct inspiration from *Peveril* is found in the fainting fit of Marie de Gonzaga on hearing the ominous words of the king. We have the same surroundings : an evening party at Court.

Peveril of the Peak (49).

The Countess . . . placed herself near Fenella as she called her little mute ; and, while making signs to her, contrived to place her hand on her wrist. At this moment the king, passing near them, said, "This is a horrid deed—the villain Christian has stabbed young Peveril !" The mute evidence of the pulse, which bounded as if a cannon had been discharged close by the poor girl's ear, was accompanied by such a loud scream of agony, as distressed, while it startled, the good-natured monarch himself.

Cinq-Mars (26).

En cet instant une horloge sonna minuit. Le Roi leva la tête :

— Ah ! ah ! dit-il, ce matin, à la même heure, M. le Grand, notre cher ami, a passé un mauvais moment.

Un cri perçant partit auprès de lui ; il frémit et se jeta de l'autre côté, renversant le jeu. Marie de Mantoue, sans connaissance, était dans les bras de la reine.

This same dramatic incident evidently inspired another passage in *Cinq-Mars* (4) :

" . . . Nous avons su de ce même père, ici présent, . . . que soupçonnant cette demoiselle d'être possédée, à cause du bruit qui s'était répandu dès longtemps de l'admiration d'Urbain Grandier pour elle, il eut l'heureuse idée de l'éprouver, et lui dit tout à coup en l'abordant : *Grandier vient d'être mis à mort* ; sur quoi elle ne poussa qu'un seul grand cri, et tomba morte, . . .

Of all the writers who have expressed an opinion on *Cinq-Mars*, Victor Hugo is the one who in my opinion showed the best judgment and came nearest to the truth. In an article that appeared in *La Quotidienne*, July 30, 1826, the poet says : "Nul doute que si on eût présenté ce livre comme un nouvel ouvrage de Walter Scott, traduit par Charles Nodier, plus d'un lecteur y eût été pris au premier abord. . ."

¹⁰ See *Waverley*, chapters 53 and 54.

It would, then, have been a repetition of what had taken place in Germany in 1823, when Willibald Alexis (Häring) presented his maiden work, *Walladmor*, as a translation from Scott without being at once detected.¹¹

Before M. Maigron's book, every critic (Sainte-Beuve, Stuart Mill, Taine, etc.), seems to have taken for granted that de Vigny was greatly influenced by Scott, that his historical novel was a novel "à la Walter Scott," without ever trying to prove it. De Vigny, so far as I know, never acknowledged his debt to his great model. M. Maigron, in 1898, conclusively showed this influence, but in the main lines, from a general point of view. Placing myself at closer range, I have aimed to prove more directly a) that *Quentin Durward* was the book the reading of which specially induced de Vigny to write a historical novel about the downfall of Louis XIII's favorite; b) that most of the fictitious details of the first part in *Cinq-Mars* are, as it were, adapted from *Quentin Durward*; c) that de Vigny did not limit his imitation to *Quentin Durward*, but borrowed situations and incidents from other romances of Scott.

While comparing de Vigny's book with some of the novels of his model, I have wondered why he confined himself to so servile an imitation. The only example I can remember of such a close inspiration is that of Maeterlinck concentrating the most dramatic effects of Shakespeare's best tragedies into one play: *Princesse Maleine*. The other subsequent prose work of de Vigny indicates that he could have written an interesting historical novel out of his own material. Furthermore, he was considered as being endowed with a wonderful imagination. Gaspard de Pons, in *Adieux Poétiques*, states: "Je ne dirai ni en vers ni en prose qu' Alfred de Vigny soit le premier de nos écrivains dans un sens absolu; mais qu'il soit . . . le premier par l'imagination, c'est ce que je dirai toujours en prose comme en vers . . ."

That he was easily impressed is shown in his poems, which are permeated with the influence of the great French and English poets. Victor Hugo, Mérimée, Balzac, Dumas, etc., also

adopted Scott's methods and now and then borrowed freely from him, but none of them proved to be so apt an imitator as de Vigny, who seemed to have relied much more on his memory than on his imagination.

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THE DATING OF KLOPSTOCK'S ODE, *An Gleim.*

The date, March, 1752, has been commonly accepted as the time when the ode, *An Gleim*, was written and the poem is thus dated in the original manuscript in Klopstock's handwriting, where it bears the title, "*Ode an Gleim—im März, 1752.*" There is also a copy of this made by Gleim, in which the title is "*An Gleim, 1752.*" Both of these copies were found among Gleim's papers after his death.¹ That some time elapsed between the writing of these two forms is suggested by the fact that there is a variation of text between the original (O.) and Gleim's copy (Gl.).

- v. 17, O. Er versteht es
Gl. Nun versteht ers
- v. 23, O. vom kalten, | Halben Beyfall
Gl. vom halben, | Kalten Beyfall
- v. 25, O. die sittsame
Gl. die zögernde
- v. 32, O. eisernen Nacken
Gl. stolzeren Nacken
- v. 33, O. Deutschlands Muse! Schon nah,
feurig dem Ziele nah | (Das der
Britte gepflanzt, und es mit Grie-
chischen | Lorbeern schattend um-
haint hat | Mit der heiligen Ceder
auch!)
- Gl. Deutschlands Muse! Gekrönt, feu-
rig am hohen Ziel | Das der
Britte gepflanzt, und es mit Phöb-
apolls | Lorbeerhainen umschat-
tet | Mit der Palme der Engel
auch!

¹¹ Mielke: *Geschichte des deutschen Romans, Sammlung Götschen*, no. 229, p. 140.

¹ Muncker-Pawel, *Hist. krit. Ausgabe der Oden*, Stuttgart, 1889, I. s. 102.